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REVIEW

OF THE

ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL PIERCE.

ANTI-NEBRASKA, ANTI-ADMINISTRATION AND
ANTI-RUM PLATFORM

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES E. COOLEY,

AT A MEETING OF THE DEMOCRACY, ASSEMBLED ON SATURDAY, NOV. 4TH, 1854,
AT THE VILLAGE OF PATCHOGUE, IN SUFFOLK CO., L. I.

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SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I thank you for the highly flattering and friendly manner in which you have been pleased, to receive me at this time; and I avail myself of this, the first opportunity I have ever had, to thank you publicly and in person, for the generous support I have received when a candidate in this District for public office, from the noble-hearted Democracy of Patchogue; which, in proportion to population, was, at the last election, greater than was given me by any other town in the State. Be assured, fellow-citizens, that these impressive manifestations of your kind regard, I can never forget.

When, scarcely one short year ago, while a candidate before the people for an important State office, in vindicating my position and the patriotic course of those who stood with me on the important question of completing our unfinished public works; and in repelling a malignant and unjustifiable personal attack, which appeared just on the eve of our State election, in the *Washington Union*, the official organ of General Pierce, uttering, as I had good reason to know, the unmanly sentiments, if not, indeed, the reprehensible language of the Executive, I felt it to be my duty, as it was my undoubted right, to criticise somewhat severely, the insane policy of the Federal administration, and condemned, as it deserved, the treacherous conduct of the President of the United States, an army of sycophantic expectants of presidential pap and plunder, “bending the suppliant hinges of the knee” in humiliating and degrading homage before the pitiful circumstance of power which has so signally soiled and disgraced

the highest office in the gift of the American people, screeched a hideous howl from one end of the country to the other, giving to my remarks at Syracuse, a celebrity, little less than that attained for the star-spangled inaugural verbiage of the President; which, that feeble functionary, on taking possession of the White House, so pompously pronounced from the steps of the Capitol. While some of these empty-hearted, unprincipled minions of place and public plunder, did not hesitate to abuse the irresponsible cabinet of General Pierce, and were daily charging its members with every conceivable corruption and meanness, they, nevertheless, took the ground, contrary to the theory and practice of our popular system of government, that the President, though indebted to the people for his exalted position, was, like the Pope of Rome or the Czar of Russia, a kind of sacred person, raised so entirely above the reach of those by whom he had been elected, that, of his official acts, however flagrant and detrimental to the public interest, no one could, without a violation of good taste and the courtesy due to our "worthy chief magistrate," even express a common criticism! Thus these suppliant gastric juices of demagogism sought to elevate the President so high in the scale of power, as to be, in fact, accountable for his public conduct to no one. They seemed inclined to make of him a sort of political Alexander Selkirk monarch of all he surveyed; or rather, a kind of privileged animal, like Mrs. Winklebottom's monkey, who might run riot and kick up a row whenever he should take a fancy; and could plunge us into all sorts of difficulty at home and abroad, arraying one section of the country against the other, threatening even the dissolution of the Union itself, and yet escape without censure or rebuke!

Such was the wild and unwarrantable ground taken by the corrupt and luekstering politicians among the "Hards," who, while pretending to be desperately mad with, and opposed to, the short-boy, shoulder-hitting spoilsmen among the "Softs," discovered, nevertheless, a common roosting-place with these worthies on the public plunder. Hence they found no difficulty, on the meeting of Congress, in concentrating their united strength on that most adroit administrator of the spoils, Mr. Forney, whom they elected to the clerkship of the House, as an accomplished instrument of their nefarious schemes of corruption and their designs on the public treasury. They united in a general denunciation of all who

had the independence to expose their villany and condemn the treasonable conduct of the President, through whose weakness, imbecility and faithlessness to the public interest, they hoped to accomplish and carry out their stupendous plans of pillage and fraud upon the people of the United States. They exerted all their united influence and ability in advocating the adoption of the Gadsden Treaty ; whereby ten millions of the people's money was abstracted from the treasury and foolishly lavished on the tyrant of Mexico and his mercenary tools, about the dramshops, brothels and gambling hells of the Capitol. They raised all but heaven and earth to induce Congress to place ten millions of dollars more of the public treasure in the hands of General Pierce, for fillibustering on Cuba and for other corrupt and unjustifiable purposes. They sold out the foreign appointments and pocketed the price which was paid by incompetent men, who now fill diplomatic positions abroad, to the injury of the public interest and the disgrace of the Federal Government. They zealously advocated and carried through Congress the wasteful appropriations asked for by General Pierce, amounting in a single year to the enormous sum of more than seventy millions of dollars ; an amount unparalleled in the appropriations of any previous administration, under whatever state of the country. Though professedly opposed to General Pierce, they exerted themselves to the full extent of their influence and power to insure the passage of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Nebraska swindle bill ; the only public measure on which the President and his broken-winded cabinet rely for support before the American people. By intrigue, trick, chicanery, and fraud, they unwisely sought to commit the National Democratic party in this State to the same pernicious measure which has sunk General Pierce and his paltry pettifogging cabinet to the bottomless pit of the people's contempt, defeated Bronson's election, and broken down the Hunker, hard-shell organization. They have set upon and hunted down, by the most unmanly and wicked means, every honest democratic delegate in Congress from this State, who dared to act with any independence, and in opposition to the reprehensible policy of President Pierce and his phalanx of pillaging marauders. By fraudulent misrepresentations, gross deception, and mean, shuffling tricks, they have vainly tried to repudiate the regular nominations of members for Congress and

other important offices, which had been fairly made by properly constituted national democratic conventions; and they have raised as standard-bearers for those offices the names of their old, broken-down party hacks, who never were nominated by the people for any office, and whom the people have long since eschewed. To the extent of their feeble ability, they have sedulously endeavored to convert the Democratic party into a corrupt common carrier of duplicity, swindling, and fraud;—making it a dishonest vehicle of their astounding schemes for plundering the State and national treasury. Under the garb of personal friendship and political support, they have in a mean and cowardly manner stabbed those in the dark whom they dared not meet in open combat, while fighting manfully and effectually the battles of the Democratic party, without the hope or expectation of pay or reward. In fine, they have acted dishonorably and dishonestly towards their own and all other political parties; and they are now floundering with their distinguished prototype in treachery, General Pierce, in the common slough of the people's scorn and contempt!

Such, fellow-citizens, are the unkennelled pack of political vermin, who howled last year over the public plunder so ferociously, against me and all other national democrats, who had the independence to expose and denounce their infamous conduct, and the stupendous perfidy of the President of the United States.

“Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur cum illis.”

The times have so changed since the exhaustion of the presidential patronage; and since the people, every where throughout the land, have lifted up their voices at the polls in tens and hundreds of thousands, so emphatically expressive of their entire disapproval and utter repudiation of the wicked and pernicious policy of the feeble administration of General Pierce, that, were one so inclined, the opinion I expressed of the President and his mercenary dependents, a year ago, might be re-uttered with interest, and not a grovelling cur of all that inglorious, pillaging pack, who growled and barked so loudly then, would now raise a single yelp in defence of the President, or in palliation of his inconceivable wickedness and folly!

But, the true sportsman wastes not his ammunition on crip-

pled and indifferent game. Nor is it the part of enlightened philanthropy to weep over a dead ass.

It so happens that I said, at a more opportune moment than the present, about all that I care to say of General Pierce and his broken-down, defeated, and nearly defunct administration; the members of which have been politically gibbeted and their bones now rattle in the whirlwind of the people's wrath! It would therefore be an inexcusable intrusion to waste any more time over the political remains of General Pierce; who has contrived, by his unaccountable weakness, treachery and folly, to reduce his political followers, by whom he was so triumphantly borne into power, from an overwhelming host to a small squad of dependent office-holding mercenaries, scarcely sufficient for pallbearers at the requisite solemnities on the termination of his official career, and to wail a requiem over his inglorious political grave. It is now my purpose to consider briefly a much more important subject—to say a few words, by your patient indulgence, about the ill-advised and mischievous measure of the President and his reckless coadjutors, commonly called the “Kansas and Nebraska swindle;” a measure fraught with more danger to the stability of the institutions of freedom—more threatening to the permanency of the Federal Union—more destructive of the tranquillity and well-being of the American people—more detrimental to the public interest, and more calculated to encourage sectional feeling and foster bad faith between the North and the South—than all the other vicious legislation of Congress, or all the snobbish statesmanship with which the country has hitherto been so lamentably afflicted.

The principles and provisions of this reprehensible measure, conceived in an evil hour, and brought forth at an unpropitious moment, by a political aspirant, under the bribe of prospective elevation to the presidency, assail the very foundation and substructure of the Constitution, and overturn the settled policy of the Government, which has been confirmed and re-confirmed and approved by the people every where—North, South, East and West—for more than half a century!

Previously to the cession to the old confederation, of the Northwest Territory, in 1784, by Virginia and other States, the idea of extending slavery beyond the limits of the slave States, as they then existed, had not, probably, entered the brain of a single

individual in either the northern or southern section of the Union. And, as it had already been very clearly demonstrated, that slave and free labor could not go on prosperously hand and hand in the same State, the people at the North, early in the history of our government, wisely resolved to elevate labor by the total abolition of slavery in the States now free; while the South, being differently situated with respect to climate, soil and production, found its interest best subserved, or thought so apparently, by a continuance of the old system of slavery, first unfortunately introduced by the mother country, while we were yet dependent colonies; and which was entailed upon us, after the close of our revolutionary struggles, as a curse to the happiness, and a blight to the prosperity, of the people of the United States. However much this determination of the people of the South to hold their fellow-men in perpetual bondage, was deplored by the true friends of freedom at the North, they nevertheless conceded at once the right of the Southern States, to adopt the domestic policy of their own choice and to regulate and govern their own State institutions strictly in conformity with the wishes of their own people. There has never been any departure from this commendable line of conservative conduct among the true men and the masses at the North; nor is there likely to be any change in this policy unless the aggressive principles of slavery be unwisely insisted on by the slaveholders of the South, so as to bring the two sections into hostile collision, on this exciting and highly interesting point at issue now before the country.

Notwithstanding what has already been done and said in and out of Congress—it is yet believed by men of great intelligence, who are supposed to have the best means for acquiring and understanding the true state of public opinion at the South, that the pervading sentiment among the great body of the people there, is in favor of maintaining inviolate all the compromises of the Constitution, and all the compacts entered into between the North and the South, in good faith, and acquiesced in by the whole body of the American people in all sections of the Union. I trust this may be so; but, before the most implicit confidence can be accorded to this opinion, it will be necessary for our Southern fellow-citizens to show, by some decided act, a manifest disapproval of the iniquitous policy of the administration of General Pierce, in wantonly opening up, at this time, the question of

slavery extension, with all its accompanying difficulties and dangers to the stability of the Union. The South should be made to understand that, while the great body of the people in the free States, (which are more than two to one of the white population in the slave States,) concede all the rights and privileges claimed for the "peculiar institution;" and that they have no wish, whatever, to interfere with its actual existence in the respective slave States; yet, so far as the extension of slavery into new territory, belonging alike to all sections of the United States is concerned, they do not yield one iota of their clearly expressed constitutional rights, to enter into a full and free discussion of the whole question on its merits; and to decide it as may be deemed most likely to subserve best the public interest and the common cause of humanity. To claim, as Southern politicians have hitherto claimed, the right under the Constitution, to move into any part of the free territory of the United States, with their slaves, and hold them there in bondage, is to claim no less than the entire and total exclusion of freedom and free labor from all such territory so occupied; since the whole history of slavery, here in the United States and elsewhere, very clearly shows the impracticability of the prosperous subsistence of the two systems of freedom and slavery in the same territory.

The framers of the Constitution and the sages of the Revolution, who devised and passed the ordinance of 1787, first suggested by Thomas Jefferson, the great Apostle of Democracy, understood this question perfectly. They knew well enough that slave labor and free labor could not work equally well and prosperously together; and hence, the exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory, (which was then an uninhabited wilderness,) with the important reservation to the slave owner, that, "any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services as aforesaid." This was all that the South then claimed for the interests of slavery, from a territory, too, which had been ceded to the United States by Virginia,—the most powerful and populous of all the slave States. And that was, indeed, a great concession; from that day, the people of the free States became slave-catchers for the South; and, as the same principle, and almost the same language, became subsequently,

a part of the Constitution, the hateful task has continued to be imposed on us down to the present day ; and must be performed, the South keeping their part of the Constitutional compacts, until the Constitution itself shall have been essentially changed or amended, in this particular provision of it, which is in the following words: "no person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

Here is what the Constitution, in almost precisely the language of the ordinance of 1787, guarantees to the slaveholders, with respect to the recovery of their fugitive property, escaping into free territory. It was in pursuance of this provision of the Constitution that the Fugitive Slave Law, with the other great adjustment measures of 1850, were so triumphantly carried through Congress, by the patriotic exertions of Webster, Cass, Clay, Dickinson, and other distinguished members of that body; and which have been faithfully observed and acquiesced in, by the great mass of the people every where throughout the free States. But, those great compromise measures of 1850, which so effectually allayed the fearful excitement and dangerous agitation among the people, growing out of the free soil movements of 1848, were, at the time of their becoming a law of the land, considered by the people of the free States, and by them they have ever since been regarded as a part only, of the great compromises entered into, and to be observed in good faith by all the parties thereto; whereby the question of slavery extension was determined between the North and the South, and settled for ever. These measures were regarded as auxiliary to, and, in all respects, confirmatory of, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and the ordinance of 1787; and not (as was contended by the unfortunate senator, who, unwisely for himself, and for the administration of General Pierce, as well as for the country at large, introduced the Kansas and Nebraska bill) to supersede or make void, what had been so well and wisely done by Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Clay, Dane, and other distinguished patriots, of a by-gone time. The men who were most influential in achieving the great adjustment acts of 1850, did not then, nor have they since, considered themselves so much wiser than their patriotic forefathers, the authors of

the Revolution, the framers of the Constitution, and the founders of the government and free institutions of the United States, as to justify them in tearing up and throwing to the winds, the very foundation on which the Constitution and the Federal Government have ever stood, and are now sustained.

If Senator Douglas, who happened to be out of his seat on the passage of the compromise measures of 1850, had suggested, at that time, a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he would have found that the giant intellect of Young America would not have sustained any such insane movement in *that* Senate. It required four years more of intellectual and political culture of the "giant;" and just such a pitiful executive spectacle, as is now on public exhibition at Washington; together with one of the most inefficient, disorderly, and mercenary legislative bodies that ever assembled in the Capitol, to perpetrate that political enormity; which will stand as a statutory tombstone over their public remains long after its author and all its abettors shall have passed away.

Why was this mischievous deed done? What necessity was there for repealing an act to which the circumstances under which it had been passed gave all the moral force and validity of a positive provision of the Constitution?

The Southern advocates of the Nebraska act pretend that it was a boon offered to the slaveholding interests by the North, which, although not asked for, they could not refuse!

This Missouri Compromise was a Southern measure, suggested by the South, and passed by a majority of Southern members of Congress—against the voice of the free States; which they, however, acquiesced in, and regarded as a sacred compact, which the South ought to stand by and deprecate all attempts of scheming demagogues, North or South, for its repeal.

This, however, was not done. While petitions poured in to Congress by thousands, from all parts of the free States, against the repeal, scarcely a voice was raised in the slave States in opposition to it; and the delegates from the South, in both Houses of Congress, without distinction of party, voted for that act with an unanimity which filled the minds of patriotic and reflecting men, every where at the North, with amazement and concern. They saw in this unjustifiable act of bad faith on the part of the South, a determination to augment slavery influence every where, to the extent of slaveholding ability; and with that view Southern

Senators seem to have confirmed the acts and strengthened the now almost powerless hands of the Federal Executive, in his base attempts last year, by the removal of Bronson and other conservative democrats from office, to "crush out," (as a Northern member of the cabinet said,) and break down their tried and unflinching friends in the free States; men who have stood by the South in the firm support of all their just rights under the Constitutional guarantees and compromises of the government, in perilous and troublesome times. Conservative Democrats in the free States, who perilled their all and suffered so much in the struggles of 1848, breasting the storm of free soil, raised under the waning banner of Van Buren, against the institutions of the South, do not look with indifference nor with satisfaction on the ill attention and worse support they have received in the day of their desertion by a treacherous Executive, from the hands of the South, whence they had a right to expect so much, but have, indeed, received no aid at all.

Conservative Democrats of the free States will not, however, act inconsistently with their well-known and well-established principles; but they will firmly require the South to abide by, in good faith, all the compromises of the government, with respect to the question of slavery extension, which now, owing mainly to the ill-advised conduct of Southern delegates in Congress, and the venality and inexcusable villainy of political hucksters at the North, fills the minds of the true friends of the Union and of freedom, with serious apprehension and alarm. They believe that the common territory of the United States, under the Constitution, has no absolute political rights; that the Congress have the power to govern such territory, which cannot constitutionally be transferred to any other authority; nor has any attempt ever been made by any legislation of the country to transfer that power from the hands where it was constitutionally lodged, until that intended by the passage of the Nebraska bill. The language of the Constitution is clear and distinct on this point; and no one who reads it attentively can be mistaken with respect to the full force and meaning of it. It says: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." That is all there is in the Constitution about the territory of the United States, and it is enough;

it is comprehensive, definitive, absolute and conclusive; clearly placing the power to govern the territory, where the framers of that great instrument evidently intended it should be placed, in Congress; and no power on earth, except a revolution, can transfer it to other hands, or absolve Congress from the duty which the Constitution imperatively imposes upon that body, to "make all needful rules and regulations in the territory of the United States," and to govern it. This is the well-settled opinion of all intelligent and properly demeaned men throughout the country. The policy of the government ever since the first day of its establishment, under the Constitution, has been in strict accordance with, and has sanctioned in all respects, this sound and incontrovertible doctrine. Hence, Congress from time to time has established governments for the new territory of the United States; and in all cases, Congress has made the necessary appropriations from the common funds of the United States for the support of such government. It is true, that the Nebraska and Kansas act authorizes the squatters resident in those territories, to elect the members of their own local assemblies. But, what does that amount to? They cannot, even, with the full approval and sanction of their Governor, (who is an appointee of the President, and has an unlimited veto power,) pass an act of any kind, not even for establishing common schools, the maintenance of the poor, or for laying out and repairing highways, which may not be constitutionally annulled by the Congress, to which these very members of territorial assemblies, so elected by the squatters thereof, must look for their per diem compensation! If this be true, and I challenge its refutation, where is the boasted "popular sovereignty," so much talked of, which the friends of the Kansas bill contend is sought to be conferred by that bad act upon the people of the territories? The Kansas and Nebraska act, so recently designed, by a corrupt clique of huckstering politicians, derisively denominated "Patent-right Hard Shells," to be made the only test of true democracy in this State, confers no popular rights or sovereignty upon the people of the territories; except that it authorizes, by an unjust repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the legalization, by territorial enactments, of slavery, where it had been prohibited, by a decree of the French Government before it became the territory of the United States, and, subsequently, by a solemn act of Congress, for a period of more than sixty years!

This is all there is in that bad act that even squints at "popular sovereignty;" and this is just all that the authors of that act intended it should embrace, of that character.

This administration measure, the Nebraska act, among other misnomers, is called by some of its peculiar friends a "Non-intervention Act;" which, they absurdly contend, takes out of Congress, for ever, the vexed question of slavery extension, and leaves the whole adjustment of that matter in the hands of the inhabitants of the territories. This, if true, would be a very important point to attain, and well worth the serious consideration and attention of every patriotic friend of freedom in the United States. But it is merely a preposterous pretension, asserted, with other falsehoods, to deceive the people. The provisions of the act intervene, and interpose obstructions at once, in the way of freedom, by a repeal of laws, both of France and of the United States, whereby this territory was declared free to all intents and purposes. And yet this act of abominations is called a "non-intervention act," calculated to allay excitement and discussion on the slavery question, and exclude it from Congress for ever!

How is this question to be taken out of Congress by the act for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? Or how allay agitation and excitement on the question of slavery extension in the territories? It will produce no such desirable results; but, on the contrary, it will increase, and has already increased a thousand fold the agitation and excitement of the people on this question, both in and out of Congress. And the next Congress will be very likely to repeal this miscalled "non-intervention act," restoring the latitude line of the slavery restriction act of 1820; and I should not be very much surprised if the Fugitive Slave Law went by the board along with it. It would have been better in all respects, had the authors of that bad scheme had the common fairness to have stated in the outset that their intention was, through the perfidious treachery of the President of the United States, (who went into power pledged to put down all agitation on the slavery question,) and by means of bribery and other corrupt devices, to pass an act which should effectually and permanently convert a part of the free territory of the United States into a land of bondage. That would have been an open, perhaps I should say, manly course of procedure; most certainly it would, contrasted with that which has been selected to deceive

and mislead the great body of the people with respect to the real meaning and true intent of the act.

The people, however, have proved themselves to be far too well informed, and every way too intelligent to have been so easily duped by the deception and fraud of the authors and abettors of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as is very clearly manifested, by the overwhelming defeat at the polls every where in the free States that have recently held elections, of the administration and the friends of the Nebraska Bill. The friends of freedom have, however, gained one important concession in the passage of that bill, on the part of its advocates, who have hitherto contended that Congress had no right to legislate with respect to the question of slavery in the territories; for the bill itself manifestly presupposes such a right, and sanctions such legislative interference by Congress, which has undoubtedly the power, under the Constitution, to legislate for and govern the territories of the United States in regard to slavery and all other matters relating thereto. This point once conceded on the part of the South, as it has been most undoubtedly by all the members of Congress from the slave States who voted for the Nebraska act, it can no longer be contended that the people of the free States, by taking part in the legislation of the country, for the exclusion of slavery from free territory, seek to assail the institutions of the South, as they constitutionally exist in the slave States. Whenever the question of slavery restriction from free territory has hitherto been before Congress in any way, or publicly discussed in the free States, a hue-and-cry has been raised by an unprincipled, office-seeking, spoil-hunting, trading squad of political gamblers at the North, and the taskmasters and venal presses at the South, about fanatics at the North and an intended assault by the friends of freedom, on the "peculiar institutions" of the slave States. This is no fair way to meet and dispose of a great question of State policy which concerns the people of all parts of the Union,—those of the free States no less deeply than the slaveholders of the South. I am no friend of fanatics, nor advocate of fanaticism, North or South. I am in favor of fair dealing, and of keeping in good faith the binding compromises of the Constitution and the sacred compacts of the government, inviolate, believing, as I most sincerely do, that the stability and prosperity of the Union can in no other way be sustained.

The question of slavery restriction in the Nebraska and Kansas territory is certainly one in which the friends of freedom ought to be heard without becoming in any way obnoxious to the charge of fanaticism. They have a legitimate and good ground of complaint, and they do earnestly complain of the unfairness of those in the slave interest, and the office-hunting mercenaries in the free States, because of the unjust repeal of the Missouri Compromise; with a view, as is most manifest, to the immediate introduction and legalization of slavery north of $36^{\circ} 30'$; where they had, under the act admitting the State of Missouri into the Union, a right to expect the institutions of freedom and free labor would be respected and allowed to exist undisturbed. The South agreed to relinquish to the cause of freedom and the sacred rights of humanity the territory acquired from France in 1803, north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, at the time it was conceded to them to hold slaves south of that line of latitude; and they clearly thought, on the passage of the Missouri Compromise act, that they had out-legislated the friends of freedom, and got the better of the non-slaveholding States, as was no doubt the case.

Mr. Pinckney, a distinguished member of Congress at that time from South Carolina, wrote, under date of March 2d, 1820: "We have carried the question to admit Missouri and all Louisiana, south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, free of the restriction of slavery, and give the South, in a short time, an addition of six, and perhaps eight members to the Senate of the United States. It is considered here, by the slaveholding States, as a great triumph. To the north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ there is to be, by the present law, restrictions, which, you will see, by the votes, I voted against. But it is at present of no account; it is a vast tract, uninhabited, only by savages and wild beasts, in which not a foot of Indian claim to the soil is extinguished, and, in which, according to the ideas prevalent, no land office will be open for a great length of time." Such was the opinion prevalent at the time respecting the advantage obtained by the slaveholding interest over the friends of freedom; and the admission since, of three slave States, out of Louisiana Territory, south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, has, as Mr. Pinckney indicated, given the South an addition of six members in the Senate of the United States; while the free States, under that arrangement, have only added two members to the Senate, by the ad-

mission of Iowa, the only State that has yet been created out of that territory, north of $36^{\circ} 30'$. In the mean time, Florida and Texas, embracing a territory of 296,589 square miles, have been annexed to the Union; which, with that part of Louisiana territory south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, now embraced in the States of Arkansas, Louisiana and Missouri, enlarge the area of slavery to the extent of 462,598 square miles; while the territory of Nebraska and Kansas, where the restriction to slavery has been removed, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, does not exceed 188,000 square miles; and much of that is a barren, uninhabitable region. Should it so happen that Nebraska and Kansas be eventually admitted into the Union as slave States, it will be perceived that the South will have added to their strength against the cause of freedom, no less than five large slave States out of the territory of Louisiana; which, at the time of its acquisition by this government, was all free; while only one single State will have been added to the Union out of it, excluding slavery. Is this right; is it just; is it acting in conformity with the acknowledged principles of common honesty and fair dealing? Will the people of the free States, numbering some 15,000,000, or more, while the white population of the slave States scarcely exceeds 6,000,000, quietly submit to this flagrant outrage and inexcusable wrong? No, never.

In all the free States, where elections have taken place, since the passage of this unwise and unjustifiable act, by the demagogues of the South, and the mercenary, doughfaced-political tricksters and huckstering spoilsmen of the North, sanctioned by the treasonable conduct of the President of the United States, which has removed the restriction to slavery north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, the most marked and determined opposition to it has been impressively manifested by the people; who, by their votes at the polls, have overwhelmed the administration and its friends, with irretrievable disaster and defeat. A more signal and richly-deserved rebuke to treachery, faithlessness, duplicity and fraud, never was administered, by an independent, injured and indignant nation, than that now being inflicted by the American people on the deplorable and foolish administration of General Pierce.

This topic might be profitably dwelt upon at much greater length, did time permit; but enough has already been said, I trust, to show the wretched policy and wickedness of the admin-

istration and its unprincipled coadjutors, in the adoption of a measure, (on which, it would seem, they mainly rely for support,) fraught with so much mischief and danger to the federal Union, and so obnoxious and every way so objectionable, to the great body of the people in the free States. And yet, foolish and reckless as the administration and its peculiar adherents have shown themselves to be, in urging through Congress an act of such injustice and iniquity, the real patent-right, skull and cross-bone democrats of this State, headed by Edwin Crosswell and Augustus Schell, who stabbed me in the back last fall, while a candidate for comptroller, and undertook officiously, at the same time, the leadership of the national Democratic party, which they have since completely run aground, have shown themselves still more weak and unwise, by clutching hold of this firebrand, as if determined to snatch it from the hands of the President, (whose fingers have been prodigiously burnt by it,) and make it, (the Nebraska Bill,) a new test of democracy in the State!

On this broken stool with one leg, they have succeeded in mounting the accomplished, pure-minded, patriotic, and estimable Greene C. Bronson, as a candidate for Governor; who, had he turned his back indignantly on those patent-right, skull and cross-bone hucksters, and their Nebraska swindle, and taken the stump simply on his widely-extended reputation as a man of distinguished ability and acquirement, of untarnished purity of character and unquestioned competency for the office, could have easily been carried into the gubernatorial chair by the votes of conservative men of all parties; who, but for his indorsement of the Nebraska bill, would have gladly concentrated their votes on Judge Bronson, and rejoiced in his success. The sanction given by Judge Bronson to this bad, though principal measure of the administration, has, I regret to say, wonderfully weakened the strong hopes entertained by his many warm friends previous to the meeting of the Syracuse convention on the 12th of July, of his triumphant election. This lamentable result, however much to be regretted, is no more than was clearly foreseen and predicted, immediately on the publication of Judge Bronson's letter, in connection with the proceedings of the convention that nominated him; and which, also, foolishly gave its sanction, by express resolutions, to the pernicious repeal of the Missouri Compromise; which has been thus far overwhelmingly disastrous to all who

have in any way been instrumental in the infliction of its numberless evils on the country. I trust, however, that not a single vote of the National Democracy will be withheld from the support of Judge Bronson on account of his frankly-expressed views with respect to the passage of the act repealing the Missouri Compromise; for, while I protest against the futile attempts on the part of a few uninfluential political pretenders, who have officiously obtruded themselves conspicuously before the public, to make such a preposterous test of democracy, as is the Nebraska fraud, we may, on personal grounds alone, without reference to his views on political subjects, safely and cheerfully cast our votes for Judge Bronson for the high office to which he has been so unanimously nominated by the Syracuse convention.

With respect to the other national democratic nominees for State officers, I am happy in being able to say that I believe them all good men and true; every way competent and worthy to receive the unbought suffrages of a free and independent people. If elected to the respective offices for which they have been nominated, they will not fail to adorn their high and important public positions by an able and faithful discharge of their duty to a generous and enlightened people. While I cannot fail to regret that the present member of Congress, from this district, Hon. James Maurice, was not re-nominated, as a deserved manifestation of public approval of his patriotic conduct in relation to the Nebraska bill, no less than of his faithful attention at all times to the highly responsible duties that devolved on him during his residence in Washington, I have to say that Mr. D. B. Allen, of Richmond, the nominee now before the people, is my personal friend; and was, during my residence in that county, my highly esteemed and obliging neighbor. He is a gentleman of ability and of unblemished character; and, if elected, as I trust he may be, he will, I doubt not, by his sound good sense and wise discretion; by his acquaintance with business and his general knowledge of men and of the world; and moreover, by his courtesy and gentlemanly deportment, as well as by his accomplishments and fitness for the honorable position to which you design to elevate him, reflect upon the district, and upon the highly responsible station he may be called to occupy, an honor and distinction, of which his constituency may well be proud, and will scarcely fail to commend and long admire.

Here I might, very properly perhaps, close my remarks. I cannot do so, however, without paying my respects to the present amiable and accomplished, though, politically, deluded, gentleman, who now fills the gubernatorial seat of this State; and who is at this time paraded before you on a drunken horse, as the Tap-room candidate, asking your support of him for another term! It would have been an easy thing to re-elect Governor Seymour for the high station he now occupies, and to which he was borne, two years ago, by a vast majority of the legal voters of this State. Indeed, it would have been no very difficult matter for him to have attained to almost any official position in the gift of the American people, had he, in all respects, been true to the established faith of the Democratic party; true to his old friends; true to the great principles and plans of public policy for the improvement and advancement of the interests of this State; of which, at one time, they had no more able or ardent advocate than himself. But, Governor Seymour appears to have changed his views of public policy, since his election; and now he is presented before you for renewed support on entirely new grounds, his veto of Mr. Clark's Bill, passed at the last session of the Legislature, for suppressing the deplorable vice of intemperance!

This, like the broken political plank on which unfortunately a few officious and obtrusive "Hardshell" hucksters have succeeded in exhibiting Judge Bronson for the same important office, is an untenable and obnoxious platform: which cannot long stand in a community like this, depending, as it must, for its support mostly upon the vicious dregs and outcasts of society; while it must be deprecated, detested and condemned by all good men.

When a candidate for a highly honorable and responsible public position, founds and urges his claims to it on grounds calculated, if sustained, to break down the morals, deteriorate, corrupt, degrade, impoverish, and brutalize vast masses of our people; to fill our almshouses with paupers, and our jails and State prisons with criminals; to augment crime of every conceivable description, and depress virtue; to break up the good order and safety of society and fill the land with desolation and distress, it becomes the imperative duty of every intelligent, well-demeaned citizen, as he values all there is in society worth living for; the peace and virtue of our families, the prosperity and advancement

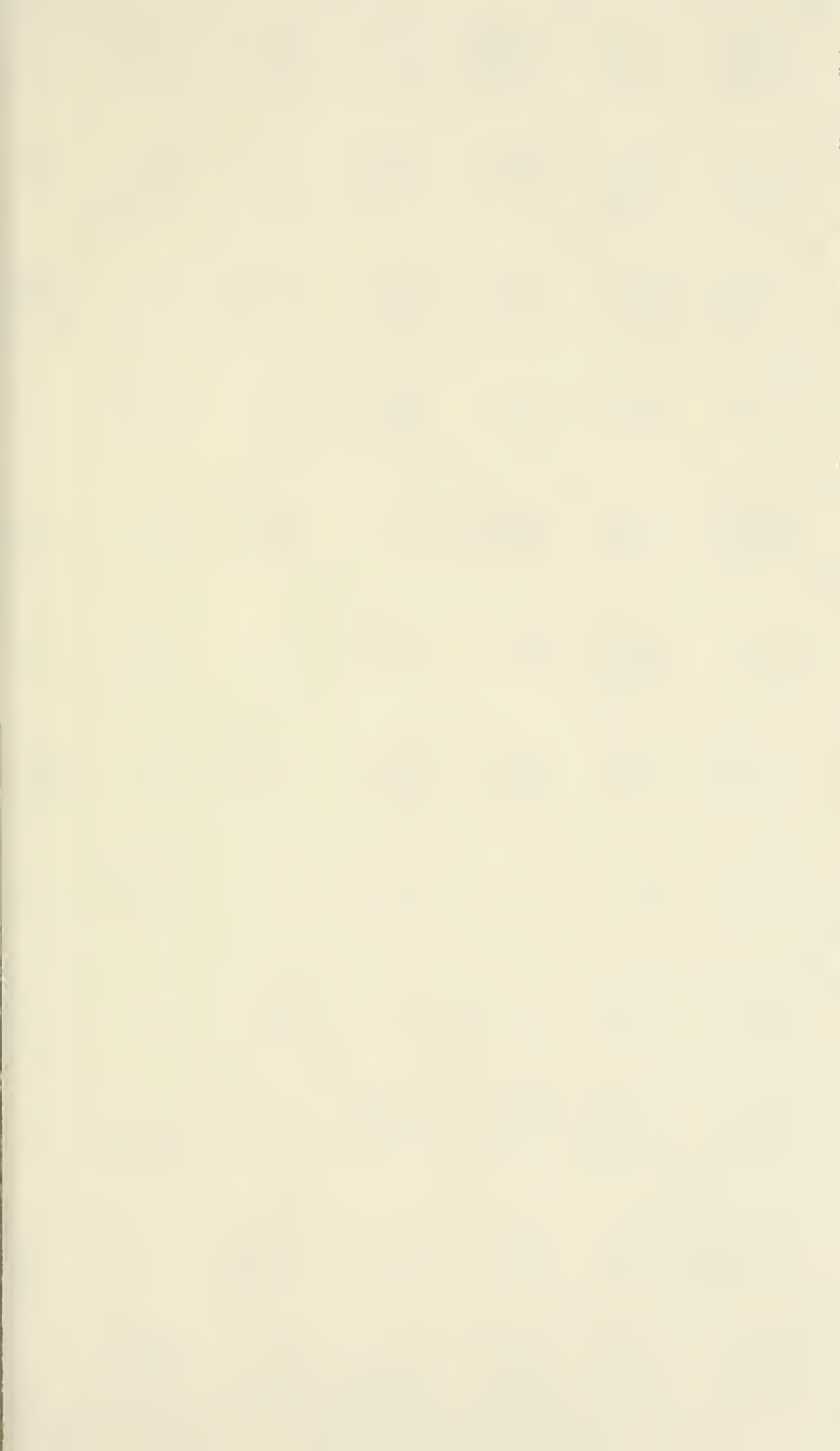
of our people, and the incomparable blessings of freedom, to take an active, efficient, and uncompromising stand, in opposition to such candidate, and all claims that may be urged in his favor on grounds so preposterous and detrimental to the good order and well-being of our people, and of mankind at large. While, on personal grounds, I have nothing whatever to say in opposition to Governor Seymour's re-election, I do not hesitate to declare that, in my opinion, no man in this State, if, indeed, in any other, has ever presented himself as a candidate for office on grounds so utterly objectionable and in all respects so pernicious to the best interests of the community, as those on which Governor Seymour and his political friends mainly rely for his election. It is simply the dram-shop support, and those whose pecuniary interests are immediately dependent on that brutalizing, degrading and bestial business, that his Excellency now confidently reposes his political claims! And, in his case, it is a contest between virtue and vice; order and confusion; innocence and crime; purity and depravity; competency and poverty; industry and indolence; thrift and vagrancy; education and ignorance; plenty and poverty; freedom and the jail; goodness and the gallows; in short, the welfare or ruin of our people. Should we not, then, take a firm and unflinching stand in opposition to the election of any man to any office, however high or otherwise, involving matters that concern so essentially the welfare of every human being in the State?

The Democratic party has at no time in its previous history presented, or attempted to present, a candidate for any office exclusively on one issue—on one interest, relying on that alone, and nothing else, for support. It has hitherto been considered a liberal party, of enlarged sympathies and enlightened views; embracing in its fostering grasp all the great interests of the country; and generally taking ground against monopolies of all kinds. It is therefore an anomaly to see a candidate with democratic pretensions, leaving behind him all the great issues on which the Democratic party has so long and so firmly stood and effectually fought, and adopting a new creed of three letters and one syllable, and only one idea and a single word, and that word, RUM! This monopoly, bad as it is, can never be recognized by the mass of democratic voters, as legitimate and valid; and Governor Seymour, although it is very likely he may secure a staggering

victory over the candidate of the "Hards," owing to his unwise indorsement of the wicked repeal of the Missouri Compromise, will nevertheless find that a political platform, sustained only by Lager-beer, Gin-toddy, Whiskey, and "Aromatic schnapps," is a tottering and dangerous erection, on which it will be impossible for him to stand very steadily for any length of time. Should Governor Seymour succeed in being re-elected—it would be worse for him than defeat. Victory obtained on an issue so narrow and so entirely obnoxious to the true interests of our people; so insulting to the intelligence of the age—would be the knell of his political death!

Of the individual, nominated on the ticket with Governor Seymour for his Lieutenant; who, by his unmanly conduct, during a short residence at Albany, disgraced the Speaker's chair of the Assembly, it is quite unnecessary for me to say much at this time. All of you must, I dare say, have had some knowledge of him during his residence on your beautiful island. And you will not fail to remember the circumstances attending his political execution by the Syracuse convention, over which he was called to preside; and how that his sad political remains were subsequently handed over for interment to a *certain* MANN in the village of Jamaica, who discharged the duties of undertaker on that occasion, *secundem artem*.

Decency demands that we tread lightly over the ashes of the inglorious dead, and I most willingly leave the sorry subject of these remarks to a long and silent repose.







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